

REPORT from the CAPITAL



STATUE OF FREEDOM

High upon the dome of the United States Capitol is the bronze Statue of Freedom. Designed in Rome, Italy by Thomas Crawford in 1856, it was cast in Washington, D. C. and placement completed on December 2, 1863. The figure is of a woman in flowing robes, fastened at the waist with a brooch composed of the letters "U.S." Her head is covered by a helmet encircled with stars and topped with a bold arrangement of feathers and an eagle's head. Her right hand rests upon the hilt of a sheathed sword; her left hand holds a wreath and shield. Freedom is over nineteen feet high and weighs seven and one-half tons.

REPORT from the CAPITAL

"... a civil state 'with full liberty in religious concerns' "

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Shaping our faith in freedom

A lot has been written about "first lines," among the most notable being Herman Melville's opener in *Moby Dick*, "Call me Ishmael." Robert Linder, scholar, historian, Baptist, writing on "Christianity, Politics, and Secular Government in the United States" starts his essay with a zinger: "Like it or not, modern people in the Western World are children of government."

In that essay which may find its way into a proposed book with Richard Pierard, Linder explores origins and the nature of secular government as they relate to Christian belief. We're carrying the portion which centers on Deism as an expression of Enlightenment thought, and Biblical Christianity. Linder believes evangelicals made Americans the most religious people in the world.

They said of Paul, his companion Silas and others among those early Christians, "These that have turned the world upside down are come hither also." (Acts 17:6) Mahan Siler, contemplating in a sermon over one of his church's stained-glass windows, finds an early American Baptist in that category. He declares that Roger Williams would be no less a troublemaker if he were with us today than he was in his own day. Faith experiences often tell us more about prophetic witness than we want to know. They challenge us to be vocal with our "no's" to the temptation of seeking church enhancement through government favor. One way of making certain religious freedom will receive a fair hearing would be to keep our "yeses" and "no's" in concert with those of Roger Williams.

Mixed First Amendment Cases—not something familiar to most of us, much less something we've wrestled with. We are made aware of this issue through an intriguing article co-authored by Donald Drakeman, a New Jersey lawyer, and Robert F. Seawright. They are concerned that where free exercise and establishment rights are opposed to one another, as they appear to be in the *Bender* case, the courts should apply a "balancing test" which weighs all the principles at issue. Balancing the two religious clauses of the First Amendment, Drakeman and Seawright believe, would mean, for example, that public high school students who are permitted to meet for a variety of secular activities should also be allowed to meet for religious reasons.

Religious Liberty Day, 1985: our office is hearing from people who never heard of this office until they spotted one of our religious liberty blurbs in their denominational magazine, state paper or executive's newsletter. We are on the way to distributing more material than in any year to date. June is not sacrosanct as the month in which Baptist congregations reflect on a heritage of religious freedom which prospered because church and state hammered out Constitutional guarantees. Write, if you have not, for our planning packet. □

Victor Tupitza

When the U.S. Supreme Court ruled recently that the state of Alabama may not require moments of silence for prayer in its public schools, it reaffirmed an important principle: government has no competence in matters of faith, public officials have no business in a free society setting up the ground rules for religious practice. Baptists throughout their history have championed religious freedom as a gift from God and government has no right to tamper with it. Our forebearers went to prisons in places like Massachusetts and Virginia to keep government out of the religious realm.

Because of that history—one founded on strong theology—Baptists should applaud rather than criticize what the Supreme Court said in that silent prayer case. Genuine devotion to God does not depend upon any legislature's seal of approval. Need we remind any Baptist that separation of church and state is part of our American constitutional form of government? •

President Reagan's tax simplification plan is drawing understandable criticism from leaders in the nonprofit community because of the provision that would eliminate tax deductions for charitable gifts to taxpayers who do not itemize. If the provision survives congressional debate, as many as four-fifths of American taxpayers will be unable to claim deductions for gifts to their churches, synagogues, and a whole host of nonprofit, charitable organizations.

What is ironic about the president's proposal is that for five years his administration has been arguing that the private sector, including churches—not government—should be doing more to support the needy. Penalizing taxpayers (only one-fifth will itemize) who don't file the long tax form doesn't make sense. •

For the second time this spring the U.S. Supreme Court deadlocked on a key church-state case, leaving a sticky issue essentially unresolved. Its 4-4 tie vote in effect affirmed a lower federal panel's ruling that a Nebraska woman must be given a driver's license in spite of her refusal to be photographed for the license.

Interestingly, although the woman, Frances J. Quaring, claims no religious affiliation and attends church infrequently she argued throughout that to have her picture made would violate the second of the Ten Commandments ("Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing..."). She said the law burdened her free exercise of religion. •

Dean M. Kelley, an acknowledged expert in church-state relations, told the Senate Subcommittee on the Constitution that "government has no business establishing periods for either spoken or silent prayer during the school day." Because prayer is a "deeply personal matter, communication between an individual and God is possible at anytime...The Supreme Court cannot prevent it...nor can the Congress enable it," Kelley declared. He added that constitutional amendments are "unnecessary."

Kelley said pressure should be brought to bear on local school authorities to provide classroom instruction "about the important part religion has played in human life." The National Council of Churches of Christ executive reminded the committee of the National Council's support of the Equal Access Act passed by Congress last year and signed into law by the president. •

Political Foundations

Although political entities are secular by their very nature and although the United States was clearly established as a secular government, the political history of the United States has hardly been without a religious dimension over the years.

The men who most heavily influenced the formulation of the U.S. Constitution—the so-called “framers”—were mostly Deists or near-Deists. This number included George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and, most importantly, James Madison and Alexander Hamilton, the primary architects of the document.

Deism was the religious expression of the Enlightenment, a rationalistic mode of explaining God's relationship to the world which emerged in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Following the classical illustration of God as the Great Clock-Maker, the Deists believed that God gave the world its initial impetus and then left it to run its course according to certain natural laws which he established. Consequently, special providence, biblical revelation, and a supernatural scheme of salvation were called into question. Some Deists were hostile toward Christianity, others were not. All, however, had little use for institutional religion and all wished for a more rationalistic approach to Christianity.

American independence emerged in the era of the Enlightenment and was indelibly stamped with the character of that era. American independence also emerged in a country steeped in biblical values and founded in a large part by religious dissenters. The new American nation illustrated many of the qualities of both the enlightenment and biblical Christianity.

The Enlightenment, with its emphasis on virtue and reason as practiced and explained by classical philosophers from

Socrates to Marcus Aurelius, placed its emphasis not only on the single individual but on humanity, not on a single people but on all peoples. Such a description occurs in the language of the Declaration of Independence, a document clearly and heavily influenced by Enlightenment thoughts: all men, not all Americans or Englishmen, are created equal.

Moreover, the Enlightenment did not reject Jesus or the Gospels. In fact, philosophers like Joseph Priestley and Thomas Jefferson compiled their own Bibles on the belief that Jesus was the most virtuous of all philosophers and the best guide in the realm of morality. When they compiled their moral testaments, they celebrated justice, happiness, virtue, equality in the sight of God and of humanity, and the life here rather than the life hereafter. They championed progress and the immortality of fame, because fame was the spur to a better world for all. Whatever their overt role, all such Enlightenment figures were moralists by their own standards. They searched for moral truth that they concluded to be universal. They rejected alike the parochialism of any single church or any single nation, including their own.

This viewpoint was stated succinctly by Benjamin Franklin in a proposal for the art of achieving virtue. His proposal affirmed that: (1) virtuous men ought to join together to strengthen the interest of virtue in the world and so to strengthen themselves in virtue; (2) knowledge and learning are to be cultivated and ignorance dissipated; (3) none but the virtuous are wise; and (4) the perfection of humanity is a virtue. There was a passion for virtue. Along with the words *happiness* and *prosperity*, *virtue* was one of the great bywords of the 18th century.

This outlook expressed itself religiously in Deism. In economics, Adam Smith and the physiocrats expressed Enlightenment concepts in terms of free trade, economic liberty, and *laissez faire* policy. And from these views of virtue, education, religion, and economics flowed Enlightenment concepts concerning politics. God and state were thus reduced to the role of safeguarding individual rights so that reason, nature, and humanity might progress uninhibited to produce a harmony of enlightened self-interest and social welfare. Most of all, it gave birth to the classical liberalism of the 18th century with all its emphasis on freedom in every sphere of human existence, including church and state.

Biblical Christianity was the other main tributary from which flowed the political ideas for the formation of the new nation. And two branches contributed to this tributary: Puritanism and the radical dissenters. There were a number of Christians at the constitutional convention of 1787 in Philadelphia but their influence as individuals was largely inconsequential. Still, their views carried weight because they represented more faithfully the American biblical ethos of the day than did those of the Deists. In particular, their view of America as a special place with a mission, a veritable “city on a hill,” reflected the self-image of America held by the Puritans, and their willingness to consider separating the institutions of church and state mirrored the views of radical dissenters like the Baptists, Mennonites, and Quakers.

Broadly speaking, evangelical political views came out of the First Great Awakening in the first half of the 18th century; this important religious revival instilled evangelical values, if not theology, firmly in the common people of the nation. However, Americans at the time of the American Revolution (1775-1783) were not particularly religious in the

Dr. Linder is professor of history at Kansas State University, Manhattan, KS. The following was adapted from the essay, “Christianity, Politics, and Secular Government in the United States.”

conventional sense and in fact formal church membership declined sharply. But with the Second Great Awakening in the first half of the 19th century, the revivalists triumphed and gave the United States a basically evangelical cast. As historian William G. McLoughlin affirms:

The story of American Evangelicals is the story of America itself in the years 1800-1900, for it was Evangelical religion which made Americans the most religious people in the world, molded them into a unified, pietistic-perfectionist nation, and spurred them on to those heights of social reform, missionary endeavor, and imperialistic expansionism which constitute the moving forces of our history in that century.

In the American context, this resulted in the apparently happy marriage of evangelical Christianity and liberal democracy. Nineteenth-century American Christians felt they could give their whole-hearted political allegiance to the nation because it was God's chosen instrument to spread both Christianity and democracy to all the world. The two concepts were to them as branches of the same evangelical tree. There was no conflict in loyalty to God and loyalty to his chosen nation.

Puritan leader John Winthrop's oft-cited 1630 metaphor of "A City upon a Hill" differed in emphasis from sometime Baptist and Seeker Roger Williams' less-known but equally hallowed vision of a country in which, as he observed in 1644, "God requireth not an uniformity of Religion to be enacted and enforced in any civil state..." These two ideals provide the background for understanding the contributions of biblical Christianity to the political foundations of America. Over the years, the Puritan sense of cosmic mission as God's New Israel eventually became part of America's national identity while the dissenters' stand for religious freedom developed into the American ideal of religious and cultural pluralism.

Thus, at the time of the constitutional convention in 1787, there existed in the minds of many of its participants and in the minds of many of the people they represented a vision of a new nation on the Puritan and/or dissenter ideal. Those with a Puritan/Calvinist background dreamed of establishing a nation that would stand as a "city upon a hill"—a model for all other peoples—and a New Israel holding forth the light of liberty and truth to the nations. Those with a dissenter background, on the other hand, envisioned a new nation that would permit "individual competency in matters of religion," prohibit the establishment of any church as the official religion of the land, and keep the state from interfering in matters of faith and

conscience. These notions deeply affected the writing of the new Constitution in 1787.

Interestingly enough, the American men of the Enlightenment of that day, many of whom were intellectual and political leaders of the new nation, far from rejecting these Puritan and dissenter ideals, often embraced them. A number of scholars have noted this confluence of evangelical and Enlightenment worldviews at the birth of the nation and in the decades which followed. For example, political scientist Ralph H. Gabriel in his classic study, *The Course of American Democratic Thought*, underscored the convergence of evangelical Protestantism and Enlightenment liberalism in the formulation of what he called the "American Democratic Faith." As Gabriel pointed out, Pietists, Calvinists, and dissenters all contributed to the evangelical religion of the land which flowed in the same channel as liberal democracy.

The parallels between the doctrines of the democratic faith and the fundamental beliefs of evangelical Christianity are as follows: (1) common assent to a basic moral law; (2) agreement with the Calvinists' insistence that constitutional government was necessary for the restraint of evil; (3) the shared doctrine of the free individual; (4) common adherence to the philosophy of progress; and (5) accord in the conviction that the mission of America was to save the world from autocracy, on the one hand, and Satanic governance, on the other.

Moreover, as political scientist René de Visme Williamson observed, Bible Christians and Enlightenment Deists shared three political religious convictions in common: (1) that God rules the world and guides peoples and their governments with his providence; (2) that morality is rooted in religion and cannot long survive without it; and (3) that political stability and strength depend on morality and nowhere more so than in a constitutional republic. Further, nearly all American men of the Enlightenment additionally shared with the more orthodox Christian Americans of the same period a certain reverence for the Bible. All these factors meant that although the United States was founded as a secular nation, it was not *totally* secular because its founders did not intend it to be. However, neither was it a "Christian" nor even a religious nation because it was far from being an Old Testament theocracy and because the religion clause of the First Amendment and other liberal provisions were written into the Constitution. The seal of the matter was the fact that the overwhelming majority of the intellectual leaders of the new nation accepted both the premise that

America had a special mission in the world and the belief that church and state should be separated in the new republic.

Since the basic faith was evangelical Christianity and the fundamental political viewpoint was liberal democracy, and since the two had been largely merged in popular evangelical thought, nearly every intellectual or politician could identify with one or both. Even Deists like Franklin, John Adams and Jefferson could join with their fellow Americans in a common front because their basic values were in harmony. Even if the American Deists could not enter into the fullness of the evangelical faith, they could imbibe a large portion of its political expression, and vice versa.

Biblical Christians and men of the Enlightenment could work together to establish the new nation because they held compatible though different forms of thought. The central theme of evangelical Christianity was that true liberty comes to the person who has been released by Christ from the fetters of sin. The central theme of the liberal democratic faith of the new republic was the doctrine of the free individual. Freedom became the center piece of the common values shared by evangelicals and non-evangelicals alike in the new nation.

As noted, most of the Founding Fathers were not particularly religious. Therefore, even though religious concerns were written into the Constitution, the word *God* was not. When Alexander Hamilton was asked why the founding document did not mention the Supreme Deity in any fashion, he allegedly replied: "We forgot." Yet, according to historian Gordon S. Wood, "By 1830, less than a half century later, it was no longer easy to forget God.... The Enlightenment seemed to be over, and evangelical Protestantism had seized control of much of the culture. The United States, said Tocqueville, had become the most thoroughly Christian nation in the world."

All of this illustrates why noted political sociologist Seymour M. Lipset has christened the United States "the first new nation." Lipset points out that the U.S. was the first major colony to revolt successfully against colonial rule. However, even more importantly, he stresses that America became the first nation in which religious groups were viewed as purely voluntary organizations, a view which he says "... served to strengthen the introduction of religious morality into politics."

Continued on page 14

VIEWS OF THE WALL

Rosemary Brevard

MIXED FIRST AMENDMENT CASES

One of the authors has previously described cases such as *Brandon*, *Lubbock*, and *Bender* as *Mixed First Amendment Cases* because they pit the two religion clauses of the First Amendment against each other. On the one hand, the students in *Brandon* argued that they had a free exercise right (as well as a free speech right) to engage in religious activities before or after school. To forbid such activities, therefore, would be to abridge their rights under the free exercise clause of the First Amendment. On the other hand, those opposing the religious activities argued that since the religious activities would take place on school property with school supervision, that accommodation would constitute an unconstitutional establishment of religion under the establishment clause of the First Amendment.

These Mixed First Amendment Cases differ from the more traditional "school prayer" cases such as *Engel v. Vitale* and *School District of Abington Township v. Schempp* in which the schools initiated religious activity (prayer and Bible reading) during the school day. *Engel* and *Schempp* are more properly described as Pure Establishment Cases because they involve only the establishment clause of the First Amendment. During instructional time, the school has virtually complete authority over the students' activities. Absent extraordinary circumstances, students' free exercise rights (as well as their right to freedom of speech) are subject to the school's authority to determine the contents of the school day. In Pure Establishment Cases involving religion in the schools, the appropri-

ate standard of review should be the "minimal evidence test" which provides that "only a minimal amount of religious purpose or primary effect should be necessary to strike down a law. There must be overwhelming secular justifications to permit the court to uphold a law in the face of a clearly discernible religious purpose or effect."

The minimal evidence test, however, is not appropriate in Mixed First Amendment Cases. Rather, a test must be developed that takes into account both the establishment clause and the free exercise clause components of these cases. *Bender*, *Brandon*, and *Lubbock* do not provide much guidance in this area. The *Bender* court quickly dismissed the students' free exercise claims on the ground that the students could freely meet elsewhere to pray and discuss religion. In *Brandon*, the court concluded that any free exercise claim would fail because of the "compelling state interest" involved in a violation of the establishment clause. In *Lubbock*, the court recognized a free exercise right in the schools only where there is a threat of "foreclos[ing] a person's practice of religion." In other words, the courts in *Lubbock* and *Brandon* appear to be treating the after-school religious activities as pure establishment cases — the free exercise considerations are relevant only if they are extraordinary or overwhelming. This approach, however, ignores the distinction between extracurricular activities and activities that are part of the school's instructional mission.

The minute by minute control by the administration of the students' day necessarily relaxes at the bell ending each instructional period. While the school still has responsibility for the well-being of its students, and naturally some control over the type of student activities, the school's right to make content-based decisions about the nature of extracurricular activities should be restricted, especially when the school opens its facilities to a variety of after-school student groups. In a situation of this type, schools and courts must take into account the students' free exercise and free speech rights. Although we welcome the *Bender* court's recognition of students' free speech rights, the importance of the free exercise clause must not be ignored....

A First Amendment Balancing Test

We believe that courts should interpret the establishment clause in light of the demands of the other clauses of the First Amendment. By so doing, they will be free to acknowledge that establishment clause issues are not black and white, but inevitably exist in shades of gray. Accordingly, we propose a balancing test for Mixed First Amendment Cases.

Rather than assuming that an establishment clause concern will automatically cancel out any free exercise right, a court deciding these issues should weigh the potential establishment clause problem against the free exercise right (and/or the free speech right) asserted. This approach is particularly appropriate in the context of the public schools that are filled, as pointed out in *Brandon*, with impressionable children. The risk that state support will create a bias in favor of one or all religions is not necessarily greater than the risk of bias against religion created by removing religious activities from the group of permissible extracurricular activities. If, as the *Brandon* court suggested, one of the primary goals of the First Amendment religion clauses is to ensure government neutrality towards religion, the full weight of all the clauses of the First Amendment must be balanced.

Application of the Balancing Test

Although some might like to view the analysis of free exercise rights or establishment clause problems as absolute, it is inevitably a matter of degree. Some measure of government support of religion has been permitted by the courts, despite the establishment clause, particularly where not doing so would seriously infringe on the free exercise rights of certain groups. Governmental accommodations for religious observance in prison and the military are examples of this implicit balancing of the free exercise and establishment issues. If the government does not provide chaplains to these captive groups, the members of the groups will have little or no access to religious leaders. In these cases, the goal of total "neutrality" is sacrificed because of the government's inability to respect the important free exercise rights of servicemen and criminals in any other manner.... [T]he free exercise claims of the

Editor's Note: The article "God and Kids at School: Voluntary Religious Activities in the Public Schools," by Donald L. Drakeman and Robert P. Seawright, appeared in the *Seton Hall Law Review*. Written before the Third Circuit's decision on the appeal in *Bender*, all references to *Bender*, therefore, are to the district court decision. It allowed a student group meeting for prayer as not violative of the establishment clause and upholding student free speech rights. Subsequently, the Third Circuit disallowed the meeting on the grounds that establishment clause concerns outweighed the interest in protecting student free speech rights. Excerpted, it is used by permission.

VIEWS OF THE WALL

adherents of mainstream religious groups in prison and on the battlefield have completely overwhelmed the establishment clause problems.

... Moreover, contrary to what appears to be the unarticulated premise of the *Brandon* and *Lubbock* opinions, we do not believe that the absence of religion constitutes state neutrality. Rather, neutrality requires that the state treat belief and disbelief with equal respect. To include religion is to advance it; to exclude religion is to impair it. The nature of religion (or at least most Western religious traditions) demands an affirmation or a denial from each individual. Similarly, the First Amendment simultaneously prohibits establishment and prescribes free exercise. When these constitutional mandates come into conflict, they cannot be reconciled by simply ignoring the free exercise claim on the grounds that the state will allow students freely to exercise their religious beliefs elsewhere. Indeed, as the Supreme Court noted in a case which involved First Amendment rights exercised by the public in the vicinity of a high school, "one is not to have the exercise of his liberty of expression in appropriate places abridged on the plea that it may be exercised in some other place."

... As discussed above, we believe that neutrality is best served by offering students the opportunity to choose to meet with their peers for religious purposes on the same basis as they may meet for secular activities. If religious groups are permitted to meet along with secular groups, students will be free to choose among activities presenting a variety of viewpoints. It is this freedom which allows belief and disbelief to compete for the affections of the public on equal terms, that the Constitution mandates.

Additional Support — Freedom of Speech

All Americans, including public school students, are entitled to express their opinions freely and without government interference. This freedom is, of course, subject to the same time, place, and manner restrictions applicable to the free exercise of religion. Absent such legitimate regulation, schools may not make content-based distinctions between the kinds of speech in which students may and may not engage. This basic principle of First Amendment jurisprudence has long been considered axiomatic — except with respect to religious speech. *Widmar* represents the Supreme Court's

view that religious speech also deserves constitutional protection, at least where college students are concerned. We applaud this shift and agree with the *Bender* court's extension of this principle to high school students.

Free speech is an adequate and appropriate ground for upholding the use of public facilities by religious groups on the same basis as other groups. We are disappointed, however, that considerations of free speech have obscured the threat to the free exercise clause. Indeed, even the *Bender* court, in finding no free exercise violation, implied that free exercise is no defense to an establishment clause violation. Accordingly, we continue to advocate the use of our test for Mixed First Amendment Cases while advocating free speech as an alternative ground for any such decision....

Conclusion

The issue of prayer in the public schools is not a simple one. We must be extremely careful to avoid any appearance that the schools are either supporting or denigrating religion because of the impressionability of school children and the power of the public schools as transmitters of American values. The *Brandon* and *Lubbock* approach, which suggests that we can best solve the problem by scrupulously avoiding any evidence of religious activity on school property, has failed to take into account the important role of religion in the lives of students and in our culture. Even students have free exercise rights, a fact the *Brandon* and *Lubbock* courts essentially ignored.

Even though the *Bender* court reached the right result, in our view, the opinion minimized the extent of students' rights under the free exercise clause. In these *Mixed First Amendment Cases*, where free exercise and establishment rights are opposed to one another, the courts should apply a balancing test. This test will enable the courts to weigh all of the competing principles at issue, thus permitting them to make the careful, sensitive analysis these cases demand. On balance, we believe that this analysis will lead the courts to conclude that public school students who are permitted to meet during noninstructional periods for a variety of activities should be permitted to meet for religious as well as secular activities. Only in this way will the students truly be given the freedom to be religious or not to be religious, as mandated by the Constitution. □

Quoting

James P. Guenther
Nashville Attorney

Our Baptist institutions exist not to parrot public policy but to proclaim and witness and minister to a world of people with needs and hurts. Our institutions do not exist to serve the shifting ideas of what has been called "piety along the Potomac," but to serve the eternal truths of a higher kingdom. □

Dean M. Kelley
NCC official

Churches have survived for centuries under governments much less hospitable than that of the United States, and they are not going to collapse or abandon their duties to God and humankind over loss of tax exemption or deductibility. The real losers will be the non-religious voluntary, nonprofit organizations which mobilize and focus citizen interest and activity and thereby make democracy work. They should not be penalized for supposed "violation of public policy" as determined by incumbents of the legislative, executive, or judicial branches of government because they are the grassroots instruments by which the citizenry formulates and proposes what "public policy" ought to be. If they are to be confined to what public policy is now, the growth, development, and adaptability of the nation will be frozen into the present very imperfect patterns, and we will all be poorer. □

Flynn T. Harrell
State official, SC

The time is propitious for other churches who can afford to do so to consider making some voluntary contribution, in lieu of taxes, for certain services received—water and sewage disposal, sanitation and trash pick-up, street maintenance, and fire and police protection. It is the right and just thing to do, and it will enable us not to compromise our integrity. But then, it would confirm the principle of religious liberty and help to assure the continued freedom of churches to exert their prophetic influence upon public policy. Also, it is fair and equitable. □

[A panel discussion on "Taxation of Churches and Church-related Organizations" at the conference on "Baptists and the History of Church-state Relations." Sponsors were the Historical Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, the SBC Historical Society and the Baptist Joint Committee.]

News in Brief

Public education benefits by church involvement

MUNCIE

Religions should be involved in public education, according to the keynote speaker at a Ball State University conference on the subject—the Rev. Richard Israel, director of public education ministries for the Interchurch Council of Greater Cleveland.

He told his audience that “quality, integrated education is the right of each person, is basic to the social, political and economic health of our democracy, and is an indispensable preparation for life in an independent world.”

Mr. Israel listed among the reasons for the church's involvement in public education the fact that “Churches, along with schools, are the most visible institutions located in almost every community” and that “Churches represent a concern for love, justice, and reconciliation that is often needed when persons and groups become engaged in conflicts related to educational issues.” □

Group calls equal access an unconstitutional bill

OMAHA

The federal Equal Access Act is unconstitutional, according to a legal brief prepared by the American Jewish Congress.

The agency is seeking permission to file the brief in U.S. District Court for the District of Nebraska in a case brought by students at Westside High School in Omaha who were denied permission to form a Christian fellowship club. The students have sought a preliminary injunction to compel the school district to permit the club to meet on school premises, citing the 1984 Equal Access Act for support.

But the American Jewish Congress is arguing that courts must decide constitutional questions, and that since courts have found “equal access” for student religious clubs to be unconstitutional, the law is therefore unconstitutional.

“Plaintiffs are free to meet before or after school at any other location,” the Jewish Congress says. It argues that the policy of the school district “does not prohibit students from ‘witnessing’ their faith—only from doing so with what the district believes to be official sanction.”

EBONY HONORS CLERGY

CHICAGO

Sixteen of the “most influential black Americans” listed by *Ebony* magazine in its May issue are clergymen, eight of them Baptist.

The Baptists on the list, deemed by *Ebony*'s editors as leaders who “affect in a decisive way the lives and thinking of a large segment of the Black population,” are: Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy of Washington; Congressman William H. Gray III of Pennsylvania; Benjamin L. Hooks, New York City, executive director of the NAACP; Jesse L. Jackson, of Chicago, founder of Operation PUSH, a U.S. presidential candidate in the 1984 Democratic primary; T. J. Jemison, Shreveport, La., president of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.; James Carl Sams, Jacksonville, Fla., president of the National Baptist Convention of America; M. L. Shepard Jr., Philadelphia, president of the Progressive National Baptist Convention, and Leon H. Sullivan who formulated the “Sullivan principles,” widely adopted by companies as a guide for investing or divesting stocks of companies doing business in South Africa. □

Faith questions raised of Swede who saved Jews

MINNEAPOLIS

Did religious faith motivate Raoul Wallenberg to save the lives of some 100,000 Hungarian Jews near the end of World War II?

That question was raised at a conference on “The Meaning of Raoul Wallenberg's Life and Deeds for Jews and Christians,” held at the American Swedish Institute here.

Although he came from a prominent Swedish Lutheran family that earlier had included a bishop, there is not a single reference to indicate that Mr. Wallenberg's deeds had religious origins, said University of Minnesota sociologist David Cooperman, who has studied both the Holocaust and Sweden.

Lutheran Church in America Bishop Herbert Chilstrom, another panelist, said he wanted to “underscore” the importance of not making more out of Mr. Wallenberg's religion.

“To try to make a Christian out of him without more evidence would be a mis-

take,” Bishop Chilstrom said. “But to deduce that he did not have spiritual sensitivity because his immediate family was agnostic also would be risky.” □

Kodak shareholders defeat church motion on weapons

LONGVIEW

Eastman Kodak Co. defeated a church-related stockholder resolution and escaped the possibility of having to explain its reasons for conducting research on space weapons.

A disclosure resolution sponsored by one Unitarian-Universalist and 17 Catholic groups received only 4.5 percent of the shareholder votes cast at the company's annual meeting. Regulations of the Securities and Exchange Commission require that a resolution must get at least five percent of shareholder votes in order to be considered the following year.

Suzanne Geaney, who chairs the investment committee of the Maryland Province Jesuits, added that the Investor Responsibility Center in Washington also found that Kodak was working on a mirror designed to reflect space-originated laser beams as a subcontractor for another company. □

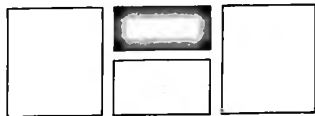
Authority to appoint leads to chaplaincy suit

NEW YORK

The question of who has the authority to appoint U.S. military chaplains—church or state—has been raised by a Roman Catholic priest from Havertown, Pa., who filed a lawsuit against the Veterans Administration in hopes of gaining a V.A. chaplaincy that both church and state are denying him.

The Rev. Joseph Turner initiated the suit last year in U.S. District Court (Eastern District, Pa.) because he contends the V.A. has unconstitutionally denied him a chaplaincy he claims he is well-qualified for, one he says he was unfairly relieved of in 1977 by the V.A.

Turner's problem is his lack of what is called “endorsement” from the valid ecclesiastical body, in this case the Roman Catholic Church. Turner insists “the church has no right to dictate to government who should be appointed chaplains.” This, he said, is a “violation of the First Amendment principles of separation of church and state.” Because the



chaplain posts are federally paid positions, said Turner, it should be the government and not the church who makes the appointments. □

Ruling upholds Rabbi on home services

PHILADELPHIA

A rabbi may conduct prayer services in his home without a zoning permit, according to a ruling by Common Pleas Court Judge Abraham J. Gafni.

The judge said it was customary for rabbis all over the world to take people into their homes for prayer and that no special permit was required.

The case arose when the city solicitor's office responded to complaints from neighbors of Orthodox Rabbi Solomon Isaacson regarding the prayer services he was holding seven days a week in his home. Judge Gafni was asked to curtail the worship services, or minyans, primarily with elderly Russian Jews who recently entered the United States.

But Judge Gafni, an Orthodox Jew himself who was formally trained in Jewish law, ruled that Rabbi Isaacson's home was not the same as a synagogue and therefore he did not need a special permit for the prayer services. □

State agency upholds ban; no spanking in day care

RALEIGH

A rule banning the spanking of children in day care centers in North Carolina has been reaffirmed by a state agency, despite the opposition of church-operated centers and Gov. James G. Martin.

At the conclusion of a hearing requested by the church-operated centers, the North Carolina Child Care Licensing Commission voted 7-2 to uphold the rule, which it had adopted in November.

The rule prohibits the administering of corporal punishment to a child in a day care center, even if parents sanction it. □

"Too Many Sacrifices"

Baptists are "marching under the scrutiny of history," declared Charles G. Adams, as he called upon Baptists to "fight to the finish against ... pernicious and pretentious revisions and denials of our heritage."

The prominent pastor of Detroit's Hartford Memorial Baptist Church and astute interpreter of church/state affairs, electrified his audience with a challenge to preserve the Baptist legacy of religious freedom. His address concluded the conference on Baptists and the History of Church-state Relations.

Sponsors of the event were the Historical Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, the Southern Baptist Historical Society and the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs.

"Too much blood has been shed, too many sacrifices for freedom have been made for us casually to surrender our history and our hope," the Harvard-educated pastor declared. "We must not allow anyone to revise history, to pervert it, or revise the news so that no criticisms of state will be published, or revise reality so that evil is defined as good and good is castigated as evil."

He added: "In these days of euphoric, self-congratulatory, nationalistic, racialistic and religionistic narcissism, we do well to remember our Baptist history and the atrocities that our forebearers suffered. ..."

A former BJC chairman, Adams said "one of God's greatest gifts to humanity is the gift of historical consciousness," or "the ability to investigate, commemorate and celebrate the past as we work in the present and look toward the future."

Adams suggested, nevertheless, "that we may not be as much in charge of our history as our history is in charge of us," adding: "It is not so much we who examine history as it is history which examines us. It is not so much that we evaluate the past as it is that we are evaluated by the past. For better or worse, we must live our days under the telling searchlight of the inexorable past."

As for Baptists, Adams said, "We are living under the invisible watch of Baptist pioneers. We are serving under the judgment of Thomas Helwys, Roger Williams and Isaac Backus."

Pointing to those and other early Baptists who fought to apply the biblical doctrine of freedom to political life in the

United States, Adams warned: "The separation between church and state which guarantees both civil liberty and the free exercise of religion is now being surrendered ironically by the contemporary descendants of those who gave it to us in the first place."

He cited a half dozen key church/state issues on some of which "Baptists are dangerously divided and confused," including prayer in public schools, tuition tax credits, "court stripping," the proposed constitutional convention, an ambassador to the Vatican, and use of public funds for Christian religious observances.

On proposals for a constitutional amendment to return to the days of state-sponsored prayer in public schools, Adams demanded, "Is there any doubt where Baptists ought to stand?" He answered: "Any cursory perusal of our history will determine our stance against state compulsion of any religious practice. Prayer must be left uncoerced and unenforced. It is voluntary, spiritual, personal and a matter of conscience. It is not to be defined, prescribed or imposed by the government."

And, he continued: "Baptists of today must know the rock from which they are hewn and declare to this nation struggling with a crisis of identity, 'We need no help from Congress, no preachments from the president, no public referendum about where to pray, when to pray or who shall pray. Prayer is not on the government's agenda nor should it be; prayer is grounded in faith, allegiance to God, surrender to one's highest and ultimate concern. Prayer is the soul's sincere desire, not the government's instrument of regimentation and conformity.'"

Adams told the audience of historians and other students of Baptist history, "The worst thing that a Baptist or an American can do is to forget, to lose our God-given historical consciousness." Recalling the preacher described in the Old Testament book of Deuteronomy, he paraphrased the ancient message: "If we remember what the Lord did in Egypt and what the Lord did in America to set the captives free, we will do the right thing ... if we remember and are instructed and inspired by the scrutiny of our history." □

Stan Hastey

WINDOW of the WAY



A Sermon

... we glimpse
the non-coercive
power
of our faith

"No!" The favorite word, it seems of Roger Williams. To his father as a growing child he often said "no." The skillful arguer he became began, like most skills, around the dinner table at home. To the Anglican state church of England with its constant regulation of religious practices, Roger Williams said a firm: "No." More than a Puritan that sought to reform within the church, he became a Separatist, believing in separating out from the hopeless established church of his homeland. The "no" of separation was the wind in his sails, carrying him eventually to Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1631.

To the attractive invitation to be minister in the Boston church Williams said, "No!" He accused the church of being hypocritical—on the one hand opposing the rituals and ceremonies of the Anglican Church, yet unwilling to separate clearly and fully from the back home church.

And over the next turbulent years more "no's" followed:

This sermon reflection on the witness of Roger Williams is part of a series of sermons on the stained glass windows of Pullen Memorial Baptist Church, Raleigh, NC, by its pastor, Mahan Siler.

The king he called a liar and immoral. Williams accused him of usurping land from the Indians without payment ... challenged the king's reference to European nations as Christian ... questioned the king's divine right to interfere with church matters.

The Puritan oligarchy in Massachusetts Bay Colony kept hearing his "no's." He insisted they had no right to punish infractions of the first four of the Ten Commandments ... no right to enforce Sabbath rules ... no right to legislate "grace" before meals (Williams purposely would pray after the meal.) These were individual choices, not the domain of the government, Williams insisted!

All these "no's" could lead to only one conclusion. You guessed it—a resounding "no" to Roger Williams. His banishment from Massachusetts in 1634 was predictable, even inevitable. He kept shaking the foundations. He just would not stop. Surprisingly, he lived a full life. Others, with similar convictions about religious liberty, were not so fortunate.

Today, if he were living among us, Roger Williams would be no less a troublemaker. Most certainly, he would be sounding the alarm. "No," he would say to any government sponsored prayer in public schools ... "No" to tuition tax

credits for private schools ... "No" to a Year of the Bible proclaimed by the White House ... "No" to the efforts of Christianizing the nation through political means ... "No", for example, to Good Friday services held by the North Carolina legislature inside our capitol building. Probably he would, as well, protest the printed "In God We Trust" on our coins, tax breaks for churches and ministers, and chaplains paid by public monies.

It all sounds negative, doesn't it? And he did sound negative. But many interpret Roger Williams only that way—an alarming anarchist, a negative troublemaker, a bothersome gadfly.

Hear the yes behind his "no's." Appreciate the "for" as the strong backdrop to the more obvious "against." In fact, it is the "yes," the "for" from which the "no," the "against" arises.

His life was a *yes for freedom*, especially religious freedom. The Puritans would insist: "but we believe in freedom! That's why we came to America." But there is a difference. The Puritans believed in the *freedom to establish a godly colony*, a theocracy, a "Zion in the wilderness." They attempted a bold experiment: a new government and new church together forming a God-fearing, God-serving community of faith.

And that's precisely what Roger Williams challenged. He challenged an assumption that had been accepted for thirteen centuries—namely, that the state and church must reinforce each other.

Williams said "yes" to freedom by saying "no" to that assumption. The two, government and church, stand best separately, he insisted. What a revolutionary idea! Indeed, he was shaking the foundations! Imagine "Yes" to freedom of believing or not believing ... responding to God or not responding ... worshipping or not worshipping. Imagine the freedom to be Protestant, Catholic, Moslem, Jewish, atheist; free to support the church financially and personally or free to withhold support. Such radical freedom appeared utterly chaotic, irresponsible, disastrous to both church and government. There is probably no way for us to appreciate how threatening this message of radical freedom was to established thought.

Today we are appreciating the stained glass window of Roger Williams. Indeed, he is a "Window of the Way"—a lens through which we glimpse the non-coercive power of our faith. The point of his window is to see through, to see beyond to a fresh dimension of the way of Jesus Christ. Roger Williams' sensitivity to the danger of coercion can lead us to re-appreciate the nature of love, especially the love of God.

In short, Roger Williams wrote in bold letters across the pages of American history: *No coercion in matters of Faith, Hope and Love!*

Love cannot be coerced. Love, that most wonderful of all our God-given capacities, cannot force itself upon another. In relationships when coercion appears, love disappears. Indeed, love has many powers: the power to give, the power to woo, the power to invite, the power to persuade, the power to sacrifice itself. It does not possess the power to coerce. Roger Williams glimpsed that truth. He would have expressed it differently. But he understood what religion had to do with the free choice to love—to love God and others. In that arena, coercion against one's free will is always death dealing, not life giving.

Our sin is often choosing the coercive way of power. For instance, one way to gain power in a relationship is to withhold love. Withholding the love desired by the other can give a kind of leverage. You can manipulate the other to do your

bidding, holding back affection while dangling the "carrot" of more love if the other will comply. Such "power plays" occur some time in most close relationships. Through such withholding or through threats, through temper tantrums or illness, or even kindness, you can manipulate the other. It's a form of power ... a power that coerces. Such power can achieve conformity, even respect, but never the freely given response of love and devotion. Roger Williams knew that.

Does it ever amaze you that God always stops short of coercion? God's choice to limit such coercive powers is the root of this revolutionary insight. We would have it otherwise. "Why," we ask, "Why doesn't God interfere, overpowering the greed and self interest that fosters such heartbreak, such hunger, such devastation in our world? Why doesn't God force us to do right?" It's simply staggering to realize how seriously God takes our freedom. It boggles our mind to see God revealed as One who in Jesus Christ prefers the power of love to the power of coercion.

Paul describes this marvel in what may have been an early Christian hymn:

"Have this mind among yourselves, which is yours in Christ Jesus, who, though he was in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being born in the human likeness. And being found in human form he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even death on a cross. Therefore, God has highly exalted him and bestowed on him the name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." (Phil. 2:5-11)

The writer of Revelation wraps up this truth in an image: Christ standing at the door—knocking, asking, wooing, seeking entrance into our lives, but always stopping short of breaking down the door, forcing himself upon us.

Luke weaves this theme into a favorite story. We know it by heart. It's about a parent who respects the freedom of his youngest son to take his inheritance and "split." This same parent waits, hopes and yearns for the son's return, yet refuses to go after him and "strong arm" him back home. Again in this story, the

same parent invites but does not insist that his oldest son join the celebration of the younger son's return. In every instance, the story tells of a love that stops short of coercion.

C. S. Lewis states this truth succinctly: "In the end there will be just two kinds of persons—those who say to God: 'Thy will be done', and those to whom God says 'Thy will be done.' " God, rather than coerce, allows us to sit down before the consequences of our choices. Because God is love, freedom is secured—the freedom either to organize our lives around our understanding of God's will or the freedom to organize life primarily around our will and wishes. What God desires, namely the response of love and devotion, can only be freely given. God refuses to settle for less.

If Roger Williams ... if the gospel ... indeed if God takes our freedom so seriously, we dare not take it lightly. The freedom to say "no" means the possibility of saying "yes." "No" to the ways of coercive power can mean "yes" to the ways of loving power: the power of sacrifice ... the power of persuasion ... the power of self-giving ... the power of suffering for the freedom and rights of others. And let's not underestimate the lasting power of non-coercive love. Note the lingering magnetism of a Ghandi, or a Martin Luther King, or a Mother Theresa, or a Roger Williams. Such magnetic power is most complete in Jesus the Christ. We are talking about the power of the cross: "And I," Jesus said, "when I am lifted up from the earth, will draw all men to myself. He said this to show by what death he was to die." (John 12:32,33). The power of self-giving love!

Let our "no's" be clear: "No" to power plays in relationships; "no" to domination even in the name of Godly causes. Also, let our "yeses" be equally clear: "yes" to the freedom of the other; "yes" to a gracious God who woos us, invites us to be—not power brokers—but love brokers in a broken world.

Roger Williams, thank you for your courageous glimpse into that marvelous truth! Don't go away! We need you. □

INTERNATIONAL DATELINE



Knesset asks probe of Mormon activities

JERUSALEM

Several key Knesset members have called for an investigation into the construction of a college campus owned and administered by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon). The five-acre campus located next to the Mount of Olives has been opposed by Jewish and Christian groups in Israel.

Likud Knesset Member Miriam Glaser-Tasa said she's disturbed by the Mormon program to proselytize to Christians and Jews throughout the world, which the Mormons acknowledge. She called for a halt in construction despite the go-ahead for the center given by Israeli authorities, which include the Interior Ministry, Foreign Ministry and the Israel Land Authority.

Mayor Teddy Kollek agreed that the Mormons want to convert Jews. But, he added, "Their actions have been restricted. Their 18 years here have proved it."

"They have a pattern they have set all over the world," said Edward Decker, a former high priest of the Mormon church and now a Christian broadcaster. "To say that a Mormon will not proselytize is to say that a Jew will not put on phylacteries."

Joshua Adler, a former instructor in Judaism at Brigham Young University's current site on a kibbutz in Jerusalem, said the proposed BYU center will enhance the credibility of the Mormons throughout the world. The Mormons claim they are descendants of the ancient Israel tribe of Ephraim, son of Joseph. Acceptance of the Mormons by the Jews—regarded as descendants of the tribe of Judah—would fulfill the biblical prophecy of the reunion of the tribes of Judah and Ephraim.

"This is the theological point that everybody misses," Mr. Adler said. □

Debate in Britain sharpens over Sunday shop openings

LONDON

Britain's churches are strongly opposed to a proposed change in the nation's laws which would permit shops to open on Sundays. They say the legislation would create a "plateau" making all days the same, and also threaten family life.

The fact that legislation up till now has been not only confusing but is enforced in some areas and not in others has done nothing to ease the complex situation.

In an effort to tidy up the muddle, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's government set up an official committee of inquiry to report on the law relating to trading hours, with special reference to trading on Sundays. The committee came out in favor of lifting all restrictions on opening hours. A strong body of Conservatives rebelled on grounds of conscience, openly threatening to oppose the government on the final vote, probably in the fall.

Meanwhile, the legal confusion continues. It is possible, for example, for shops to sell girlie magazines, but not the Bible, on Sundays. They can sell whisky or gin, but not dried milk for a baby's bottle, and a razor blade to remove corns but not to shave with. Officially, the traditional English dish of fish and chips cannot be sold, but it is within the law to buy a Chinese take-away over the counter. □

Soviets charge reporter in first libel suit

LONDON

Soviet legal and press history have been made by the charge of criminal libel brought against a Soviet journalist.

Vladimir Titov, a well-known author of satirical articles and co-translator of Joseph Heller's *Catch 22*, was found guilty by a Moscow district court and received a two-year suspended sentence.

The case provoked great interest among Soviet journalists who write on internal affairs and especially among those who try to practice the limited Soviet version of investigative journalism.

According to Soviet sources, three collective letters were written in defense of Titov, who has written pieces attacking incompetence, foolishness or dishonesty among lower-level officials.

Titov's article centered on a rape charge brought by a student in Frunze, capital of the Kirghiz Republic, against a man she later married. Titov alleged that when the marriage went wrong, the rape charge was revived and the husband sent to prison.

But the main burden of the story's allegations was improper behaviour and favoritism among Frunze legal officials. Titov's article was seen as the first shot in a new clean-up campaign. □

Education law limits rights of minorities

MONTREAL

Jews, Moslems and other non-Catholic or non-Protestant citizens were not able to vote in Montreal's two largest school board elections as a result of a law enacted in June by the Quebec legislature.

Under the law, only Catholics can elect representatives to the Montreal Catholic School Commission and only Protestants are allowed to vote in elections for the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal.

Both bodies are publicly-funded school systems as guaranteed by the British-North American Act, Canada's original constitution. Parts of the constitution, guaranteeing public education along religious lines, are still in force.

While the latest law is the most recent in a string of attempts to bring change to school funding, it essentially returns Quebec to the long-standing practice of education along denominational lines.

Under the most recent law, known as Bill 29, Jews, Moslems, Buddhists and others will be permitted to run for positions on the major school boards but, if elected, will not be allowed to vote. □

Italy-Vatican treaty abolishes state church

VATICAN CITY

Italy and the Vatican put the final seal on a new bilateral treaty that abolishes many Roman Catholic Church privileges in Italy, including Catholicism's status as the official national religion.

The new agreements eliminate many of the privileges Mussolini granted the church in the hope of winning support for his regime. They abolish Catholicism's status as the "sole religion of the Italian state" and reduce Catholic religion classes in public schools to an elective course available at request.

State contributions to the salaries of Catholic clergy are made dependent directly on Italian taxpayers who will be permitted deductions for money given to the church.

The new concordat's regulations regarding matrimony do not change; all marriages must be registered with the state and church annulments are subject to final approval by Italian appeal courts.



NEWS-SCAN

Ireland Baptist assembly speaks against violence

BELFAST

Delegates from the four provinces of Ireland attending the annual Assembly here passed resolutions on social issues and observed a moment of silence "as sympathy to the families of the young police officers murdered in the Killeen bombing" during Assembly week.

The body repudiated the "violence of word and attitude and the incitement to hatred and discord which is widespread in many communities.

"As a minority denomination on this island," the resolution continued, "we believe that when social and political grievances arise they should be expressed in a constitutional way and taken seriously by those in authority."

The 300-delegate gathering called for change when necessary "by persuasion and negotiation and not by subversion and destruction." □

Australian assumes BWA presidency

BENTLEY

Godfrey Noel Vose, principal of the Baptist Theological College of Western Australia in Bentley, became President of the Baptist World Alliance at the 15th World Congress in Los Angeles.

The 63-year old theologian and educator succeeds Duke McCall as head of the Alliance which counts some 34 million baptized Christian believers in 93 countries.

In 1977 he was named recipient of the Queen Elizabeth II Jubilee Medal. Dr. Vose received a Master's degree in historical theology from Northern Baptist Seminary, Chicago, and the PhD from the University of Iowa. □

No let-up apparent in persecution of dissent

HERICY

"Help and Action," newsletter of the Coordination Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR and Eastern Europe, reported the arrest or imprisonment of 44 individuals and a group of 48 on charges ranging from religious activism to illicitly viewing films.

Those arrested in the Soviet Union included Baptist and Pentecostal believers; the president of the Ukrainian Helsinki initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church, Vassiliev Kobryn; and an almost totally blind author of a book about Levrenti Beria.

In Poland, according to "Help and Action," those arrested consisted of Solidarity members, leaders in human rights causes, journalists, all on a variety of charges.

Persecution because of religious or "hostile" (human rights) activities, reading forbidden literature, and even "anti-socialist" conversations characterized repression of dissent in Romania and Yugoslavia.

The newsletter, published in France, publishes violations and calls for action in behalf of the persecuted. □

Right-wing body organizes to resist reform policies

JOHANNESBURG

A new secret right-wing organization is mobilizing support within South Africa's three pro-apartheid Afrikaans Dutch Reformed churches to resist the government's so-called "liberal" policies of reform and change.

A main target of the organization, "Toekomsgesprek" (Talks on the Future) is the October 1986 General Synod of the large and influential Dutch Reformed Church (NGK).

In a secret circular, the group warned that by that date most of the social-segregation apartheid laws will have been scrapped by the "neo-liberal" National Party government.

It stressed what is called the importance of reflecting on the "Christian national" basis of all aspects of life, and said the gospel could be truly promoted only through racially separated churches. □

New convention formed

CALGARY

Messengers representing 78 churches and missions across Canada have formed the Canadian Convention of Southern Baptists.

The messengers from churches formerly related to the Northwest Baptist Convention, also SBC, adopted a constitution and formed the convention by unanimous vote. □

David Russell, former secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain, expressed disappointment over the slowness of churches to respond to a campaign against torture. The British Council of Churches had launched Action by Christians against Torture (ACT) as a practical step in behalf of supporting human rights. Persons were asked to persuade the government to commit itself to oppose torture by any government, group or individual.... Baptists in Puerto Rico (ABC/USA related) condemned the militarization of that island as "a serious threat to the security of our families" and as a "process [which] crushes our possibilities for social and economic prosperity." A resolution passed at the annual spring meeting of the Baptist Churches of Puerto Rico also solicits "the government of the United States to abstain completely and permanently from storing nuclear arms on Puerto Rican territory".... The Executive Committee of the Christian Evangelical Baptist Union of Italy has denounced "the racist regime in power in South Africa for its policy of apartheid. A telegram to the embassy of South Africa in Rome further condemned the "savage and bloodthirsty repression which has already caused many deaths among the population" and protested a pending trial against persons "guilty of believing [in] and struggling for a reconciled and free South Africa".... Some 2500 congregations in the Ukraine SSR observed a day of prayer and received a special offering for hunger needs in Ethiopia.... Bavarian youth, because of the persevering effort of the Baptist Union in petitioning the government, were allowed to leave from school to attend the national Baptist Youth Assembly at Burg Feuerstein. About 2500 from all parts of the Federal Republic attended.... Pakistan now has the world's greatest number of refugees, 2.5 million, with Iran closely behind at 1.8 million, according to a UN report. As a result, western Asia has replaced northern Africa as the center of refugee need.... Members of a small Baptist (SBC) congregation were among some 100,000 Christians driven from their homes in south Lebanon by Islamic militiamen. The crisis began to develop in February, shortly after Israel announced its troop withdrawal. □

CORRESPONDENCE

Reader response extends dialogue and thereby helps to focus and clarify the issues. Letters must carry both signature and address of the writer and should not exceed 200 words. We reserve the right to edit for length.

I value the work of the Committee . . . all Baptists are particularly fortunate in your leadership.

Jack M. Averill
Bethesda, MD

I want to express appreciation for the trenchant comment on the Burger Court (May, 1985) as well as the good review of Pfeffer's latest book. In working with Jefferson, I was struck with an expression of his that deserves greater currency: namely, "this loathsome combination of church and state" (to Charles Clay, Jan. 1815). Maybe that ought to go on the masthead!

Edwin S. Gaustad
Riverside, CA

Regent's Park library receives a copy of REFLECTION and I have been keeping up with you that way. I read the May issue, was very impressed with REFLECTIONS' dealing with "throwing labels around." Regret to learn of the death of John Baker; religious liberty lost a great defender. I realize this is a very personal loss—accept my sympathy.

Michael Smith
Oxford, England

Just read REFLECTIONS in the May issue. Wish I'd said that!

Mark A. Wyatt
Fresno, CA

One of the great blessings of being a teacher is that you can have a little bit to do with the training of some folks who do so many things that you never could do yourself. I think you folks have done a superb job. My appreciation to you for the materials sent on "soul freedom."

T. B. Maston
Fort Worth, TX

[Dr. Maston, as professor of Christian ethics at Southwestern Seminary, had the BJCPA's executive director as a pupil.]

Foundations, from page 5

This combination of an emphasis upon moralism and voluntarism, derivative mainly from the Baptists and Methodists, he claims, has sustained social movements to enforce that moralism, as may be seen in the large variety of such movements which have characterized American history. Therefore, a good share of the uniqueness of the "first new nation" has had to do with this curious and somewhat delicate balance between sacred and profane from the very beginning of its history. □

free exercise and establishment clauses? What dangers await those who strongly prescribe the free exercise of religion or argue too forcefully against establishment?

• Roger Williams, writes Mahan Siler, was a man who said "no" to church-state coziness and manipulation in order to say "yes" to voluntary and free religious exercise. Today, are we hearing prophetic "no's" or complacent "yeses" to church-state accommodation? Are we seeing the freedom of persuasive love or the power of coercion as the order of the day?

• James Dunn in REFLECTIONS quotes Edward John Carnell's description of modern fundamentalism as "a cunning pharisaism." Identify aspects of the movement that are reminiscent of "pharisaic" practices Jesus condemned. Do fundamentalists part company with Baptist tradition? How integral to the priesthood of believers is the practice of democratic and autonomous congregations voluntarily cooperating in conventions and conferences? □

Soul Freedom

Baptists Living Their Biblical Faith



Observe Religious Liberty Day

REGISTER CITIZEN OPINION

Updated to reflect changes that have taken place through the 1984 national elections, and includes all committee assignments in the 99th Congress.

Single copies 75 cents postpaid; 10 for \$4.00 postpaid; 100 for \$35.00 postpaid; and 1000 for \$230.00 plus shipping.



• Robert Linder cites the political mixture of Deism and Bible Christianity. The joining of these two traditions made for a unique American Democratic faith. Identify the compatible elements with reference to the more inclusive Deist and the more exclusive Bible Christian positions which contribute to this faith. Could the Bible Christians even have made their impact without the Deist position in place?

• Drakeman and Seawright point out the need for a balancing test on Mixed First Amendment cases. Believing in the freedom both to believe and disbelieve, they cite instances where the establishment clause must be tempered by the right to free exercise of religion, and vice-versa. What are the benefits from a balance of

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... it is the dogmatic certainty of interpretation, focused upon selected scriptures that provides a clue to the spirit of fundamentalism.

REFLECTIONS

James M. Dunn
Executive Director



Intelligence carries with it a sacred obligation. It must be put to use (Luke 12:48) without losing sight of "the fact that thinking is moral. That is why fundamentalism—a secure closing of doors, permission not to think—ultimately is immoral." This pithy and profound jab at generic fundamentalism is Arthur Krystal's. (*New York Times*, June 9, 1985).

The international explosion of a variety of fundamentalisms prompts reflection on the phenomena. Shiite Moslems, Israeli sects, and the religious and political extremists in this country corner those of us who want to understand our time and force us to do our homework. We cannot close the doors of our minds.

Despite years of study and analysis, my most haunting impressions of militant fundamentalism come from childhood memories of Fort Worth's J. Frank Norris. He along with W. B. Riley made a national noise and are cited as role models by Falwell's fellow travelers. I attended Norris's church, read every single issue of *The Fundamentalist* and *The Searchlight*, listened to his radio rantings. I lived through his heyday and I know fundamentalism first-hand.

Early exposure to conservative theology is common to a large slice of American Christianity. Being a traditional, Bible-believing Christian does not make one a fundamentalist. It does make one a target for fundamentalists.

The distinction is not that fundamentalists believe all of the Bible while others of us simply choose which parts to believe. Rather it is the dogmatic certainty of interpretation, focused upon selected scriptures, that provides a clue to the spirit of fundamentalism.

Clinging to biblical miracles, reveling in the resurrection, celebrating the virgin birth, trusting the Bible and expecting the return of Jesus Christ are foundational to many of us. Fortunately, believing the fundamentals of our faith does not make fundamentalists of us. Instead, a set of sloppy theological habits, leech-like feasting upon the body faithful, sets apart the fundamentalist party in American Christendom.

Authoritarian leadership and total control are taken for granted by fundamentalists. Ordinary rules of democracy, civility and group deliberations are put aside. Those who follow a "divinely ordained" dominator have few choices.

A personality cult springs up around these strong leaders. Their irrational lust for magnitude, mistaking bigness for God's blessing, inflames even the faithful so that all thinking is suspended when the "godly man" speaks.

Their crass, mercurial messages with heavy doses of the first person singular pronoun run the gamut from tender testimony to doomsday dogmatism. Homiletical manipulation, raised to a fine art, confuses the conservative faithful.

Sensational stunts, wars against "liberals" and constant media attention are the mother's milk of prostituted conservatism. I remember the Saturday religion page of the *Ft. Worth Star-Telegram* where Norris like his spiritual progeny was always titillating, frightening, dividing.

Anti-intellectualism grows out of their self-sufficiency. Norris fought the seminary in his city with a purple passion. He held up as threats to faith science, philosophy, psychology—all learning except his.

This cursory survey should snapshot the most visible features of this influential fundamentalist. Yet, one can out-fundamental the fundamentalists without taking on their style, their mentality and without running with the crowd that honors Norris and his ilk. One may be even more conservative in belief and behaviour, without the taint of fundamental fanaticism.

Not so much *what* they believe as *how* they believe it defines fundamentalists. Not so much that they act on their convictions as *how* they act out their faith distinguishes fundamentalists.

Don't depend on critics alone. Hear the witness of one of America's most articulate fundamentalist theologians, Edward John Carnell. He came to see the inadequacy of modern fundamentalism and shortly before his death wrote an essay, "Post-Fundamentalist Faith" (*The Christian Century*, Aug. 26, 1959).

Dr. Carnell preferred to call his theological stance orthodoxy because he insisted, "I cordially assent to the great doctrines of the faith" . . . a posture held by many of us whatever it is called. He suggested that philosophy of religion ought to reserve the term "fundamentalist" for "the person who confuses possession of the truth with possession of virtue."

Carnell, the educator, decried the shift of the earlier fundamentalist movement from "an affirmation to a negation." He described modern fundamentalism as "a cunning pharisaism."

One pattern of evidences of vital Christianity has always been the deeds of her disciples. Carnell lamented the tendency of fundamentalism to take on "the mannerisms of a pugnacious cult." He measured the drift of fundamentalism in timely terms. "The test of Christian discipleship is for them no longer 'works done in love' but 'assent to the fundamentals of the faith.'"

Carnell writing 26 years ago provided abidingly relevant principles for evaluating competing theological movements. He invoked James 2:19, saying "assent to doctrine is no match for demonic pretense, for even the devil can pass a course in Christian theology."

This instructor of pastors, as President of Fuller Theological Seminary, taught that "the nature of the church is *never* measured by the doctrinal maturity of those who profess Christ." Rather, Carnell put theology in perspective saying "doctrine clarifies the plan of salvation, but a sinner is justified by faith and repentance, not by assent to doctrine."

It is no condemnation of the majority of Christians that they simply accept the Bible as true, affirm the classic confessions of faith and attend to prayer and worship. Many believers agree with the basic elements of the fundamentalist creed. That's what makes for such vulnerable victims. Followers of Jesus Christ are warmly evangelical and want to share their experience with others. That's what makes us sitting ducks for those who would prey upon the missionary impulse. A "don't" and a "do": Don't turn away from the fundamentals.

Do reject the political fundamentalists. □

REVIEWS



BONHOEFFER AND SOUTH AFRICA

By John W. DeGrucy, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984, \$6.95, 128 pp.

In this stimulating book DeGrucy examines the contribution of Dietrich Bonhoeffer's life and thought for the church in South Africa. DeGrucy, associate professor of religious studies at the University of Capetown, South Africa, is uniquely qualified for such a task. He has written extensively about Bonhoeffer and has been involved in the church's struggle with apartheid in South Africa. This combination has produced a surprisingly useful dialogue for the church in the modern world.

Why choose Bonhoeffer for a study on South Africa? This is the obvious question raised by the book's title. According to DeGrucy, Bonhoeffer was chosen for his particular relevance for the life and witness of the church in a difficult situation. In South Africa the church's struggle for integrity is particularly fierce. Themes from Bonhoeffer's writings such as a credible ministry, a church of integrity, Christian political involvement, and modern martyrdom speak directly to the South African churches. Of specific relevance is Bonhoeffer's relationship to the Confessing Church in Germany which celebrated the 50th anniversary of the Barmen Declaration in 1984.

"His (Bonhoeffer's) probing questions force us to struggle more honestly with the Gospel and its implications," according to DeGrucy. Beyond that Bonhoeffer has proven to be an inspiration to many Christians in the struggle against apartheid. The relevance of Bonhoeffer can be seen in the view that he died the death of a martyr on behalf of the weak, the despised, and suffering ones in Germany. It is obvious that many may die before freedom comes to South Africa.

Bonhoeffer's attraction for South African Christians is enhanced by his theology which calls for a knowledge of the Word of God and of the situation in

which Christians are called to witness. Black African Christians are seeking to know how to respond to a situation in which a white minority of 5 million control a society in which there are 20 million blacks.

In a stimulating chapter entitled "Bonhoeffer, Calvinism and Civil Disobedience" DeGrucy probes the relationship between Christians and the state. On what basis did Bonhoeffer engage in smuggling Jews out of Germany and a conspiracy against Hitler? To answer these questions DeGrucy shows how Bonhoeffer rejected the concept of the "orders of creation" advocated by Luther, and instead followed clues in Calvin's theology as articulated by theologians of the Reformed tradition (i.e., Karl Barth). Bonhoeffer's high regard for the state was tempered by his belief that the state gets its right to govern from God. When the state disregards its God-given mandate and becomes totalitarian, then responsible freedom demands obedience to God, in Bonhoeffer's mind. This can lead not only to civil disobedience, but to more radical acts of witness to the state.

Conscience shaped by Jesus Christ and the community of faith demands action for the sake of others. This view led Bonhoeffer to engage in acts of civil disobedience and to challenge the state's authority. Bonhoeffer saw the state's role to be limited to maintaining justice in society. When it fails in this role it must be challenged by the church of Jesus Christ. This has obvious implications for the black church in South Africa. Faith for Bonhoeffer meant that obedience to God's law is prior to the obedience of the laws of man. The church of Jesus Christ must engage secular institutions in a concrete encounter rather than through Christian statesmen. Such thought allows Bonhoeffer to serve as a paradigm for civil disobedience. His example has been used as a defense for

Christians in court in South Africa.

DeGrucy's chapter on "The Liberation of the Privileged" is profound in that the focus is on the liberation of the white South Africans rather than the oppressed. This is not where theologies of liberation usually begin. The premise, to quote Bishop Tutu, is that the white controlling minority of South Africa will never be free until the black man is wholly free. One does not normally think of the privileged being in bondage, but DeGrucy, through the eyes of Bonhoeffer, makes a strong case for the liberation of the privileged. White South Africans are in bondage to an ideology (apartheid), fear of the future, and to policies that enable them to maintain power at the expense of others.

DeGrucy contends that a true church which protests against violence, arbitrariness, pride of power and pleads for the weak serves to liberate both the oppressor and the oppressed. In Bonhoeffer's terms the church is to be the responsible and anticipatory sign of the "new humanity." In living out its faith it can liberate both the privileged and the victims of that privilege. Perhaps no more timely word for the African church can be found than Bonhoeffer's insistence that the church is the church as it exists for others. This truth is timeless and relevant to the church regardless of its circumstance.

Wherever one turns in *Bonhoeffer and South Africa* there are penetrating ideas and disturbing thoughts about the nature of the church and its witness. Whether one is reading about the Barmen Declaration (ch. 5) or Bonhoeffer's concept of the providence of God (ch. 2) there is much to ponder. DeGrucy may be accused of making too much of Bonhoeffer as a model for the modern church in South Africa. Nevertheless, the book demonstrates the abiding significance of Bonhoeffer's theology. The book is at once disturbing and hopeful. It is to be commended to those seeking to understand the nature of the church's witness and the meaning of faith amidst suffering. □

D. Glenn Saul

REVIEWS

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